1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

tree," *retinet* (*kigelia æthiopica*); and *maiyek*, cheusine beer, made, though seldom, in the Nandi way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called *lokomek*.

Trade and Exchange

The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Nandi, who till recently were almost the only people with whom they had dealings. Relations between Dorobo and Nandi have been such that, though maintaining their complete independence, the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated much Nandi culture, including language, clan-names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, for the Nandi like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Nandi women, as well as of Dorobo women with Nandi men. But neither side takes liberties with the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Nandi, and the Nandi fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force as rain-makers which they attribute to them.

From the Nandi the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 61), and the seed of cereals for planting. The Nandi get skins and honey from the Dorobo. There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to the nearest smith or potter or other person who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Nandi Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Nandi. The exchange values in 1939 were:

1 axe for 1 bagful of honey;
1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey;
1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
1s. worth of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
1 knife for a day's weeding in the smith's garden;
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared buck skin (usually bush-buck)
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared buck skin (usually duiker);
2 baskets of seed for planting for 1 new basket.

The bag, *motoket*, is made of skin and measures about 8 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

Cattle

The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Nandi; but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. Yet they have speculated about cattle inheritance, and by 1939 had worked out theoretical rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. When they were evicted from the forest in 1937 they were officially credited with about 2,000 head of cattle; but no census of either people or stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938–9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the compilation of my census were:

	Cattle	Goats	Dogs
Koret of Kipkorom ..	25	15	4
Koret of Sosoiyo ..	54	19	3
Koret of Kelpui	11	0	0
	90	34	7

Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Nandi.

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

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Life Cycle

Dorobo men pass through three stages: *getik*, uncircumcised boys; *marenik*, circumcised men; and *apaiinik*, elders. Boys are circumcised between the ages of 15 and 18 years, and may marry at any time after circumcision when their circumstances allow. Some men in fact never marry at all, but live alone, getting occasional help from women in the settlement, and depending for sexual satisfaction on surreptitious affairs with wives of age-mates. Women are first *tipik*, girls; then *yoonik*, married women; and finally, when they begin to look old, *ragitokinik*, old women. Girls marry soon after they have been circumcised.

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Kinship and Behaviour

The existing Dorobo relationship system, *tiliet*, is structurally similar to that of the Nandi, and uses a number of Nandi terms; but it is less regular and includes in the *tiliet* a larger number of persons than does the Nandi. Moreover, the collective term *macokor* (which I did not find in use as a true relationship term in Nandi) is used by the Dorobo as the proper term for a number of people terminologically differentiated by the Nandi.

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Within the *tiliet* the chief terms are: In the third ascending generation, all males are *macokor* and all females *makibai*; in the second ascending generation, all males are *kuko* or *akui* and all females *koko*.

In the first ascending generation, the terms are: *papa* = father, father's brothers, and mother's sister's husband; *aiyo* = mother, mother's sisters, and father's brother's wife; *pukot* = father's sister; *konyit* = father's sister's husband; *mama* = mother's brother and his wife. Terms used by women are *sindet* = father's sister and father's brother's wife; *apulaiyo* = mother's brother; *niyo* = mother's brother's wife; and *konyit* = mother's sister's husband.

In a man's own generation, his brothers, sisters, and mother's sister's son and daughter are *kesenda*; mother's brother's son and daughter, *mama*; and the son and daughter of his father's brother and father's sister are *macokor*. Women's terms which differ from these are: *apulaiyo* = mother's brother's son and daughter; *niyo* = mother's sister's son and daughter.

In the first descending generation, *apaa* includes son, daughter, brother's son and daughter; *mama*, sister's son and daughter, and mother's brother's son and daughter; *macokor*, father's brother's children's children, and father's sister's children's children. In the second descending generation, both sexes are *akui*, except mother's brother's children's children's children, which are *mama*; and mother's sister's children's children's children, *kesenda*.

Among affines, wife's father is *pamoyo*; wife's mother, *poker*; wife's brother, *konyit* and his wife, *poker*; wife's sister *pukot* and her husband, *kipukotiet*; wife's brother's son and wife's sister's son, *apaa*; wife's brother's daughter and wife's sister's daughter, *pakuo*. Husband's father is *pakuo* and his mother, *poker*; husband's brother *konyit* and his wife, *sindet*; husband's sister, *komati* and her husband, *poker*; husband's brother's children, *lakuet*; and husband's sister's children, *apulaiyo*.

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In the *tiliet* it is the *father's brother* who stands out and occupies the special place in family life that the mother's brother does among the Nandi; not a few Dorobo did not know their mother's brother's name. Owing to the nature of Dorobo life, the father's brother is continually in contact with his brother's children, and his relations with his nephews are even closer than those of the Nandi *mama* with his nephews.

A striking difference between the Dorobo and Nandi systems is that whereas Nandi may not marry any person in the sibet, the Dorobo were insistent that a man might marry his father's sister's daughter's daughter, the girl whom he calls *mumkor*, a person definitely in the sibet. This type of marriage does not seem to occur now, but did in the past. Marriage with a wife's sister is considered objectionable.

Behaviour patterns may be summed up in a statement made by a Dorobo that "a man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we are all on terms of friendliness and 'clean fun.'" Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother. Between a man and members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed; but elders must always be shown respect. Where the claims of relatives are concerned, the amount of contact is important, for even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen cannot expect and will not receive as much respect as one who lives nearby and is well known. On a husband's part, there should be complete avoidance of his wife's mother, though this may be relaxed by degrees as he gets older; conversation with the wife's father should be limited to greetings.

Pre-marital Sex-life

Owing to the small number of Dorobo and the consequent shortage of women for wives, men have little in the way of pre-marital sex-life; and if a man does manage to acquire a lover, he often marries her.

Bridewealth

This varies according to circumstances, and Dorobo statements about it are conflicting. In 1927 it was said to consist of large quantities of honey-wine and of monkey-skin caps; but in 1930 the standard was one cow (with calf if still suckling), one ox, and four grain. The number of grain varied in the recorded cases from two to six, and in one case the cattle amounted to four oxen. A man also gives his father-in-law presents of honey-wine and a fur cap or two; thus marriage is more of a drain on a man's resources than formerly.

Betrothal

A man chooses his wife himself, and arranges the preliminaries with the girl's father during two visits at which he gives him presents of honey. After the second visit the father calls the clan council together and publicly gives his consent to the marriage.

Marriage

The marriage ceremonies are conducted by an elder known by the time as *paiyon*, who brings the bride to her future husband's house, where the guests are already assembled feasting. The girl enters the hut in which the ceremony is to take place, and in the presence of witnesses the *paiyon* gives her to the man, saying, *Kaipenete eiwin*, "you now belong to this man." He then kindly ones *sebeliet* grass on the man's right wrist, and an old woman binds some of the same on the girl's right wrist. They are now married. The *paiyon* then sets up an erection of *sebeliet* grass called *kendo* which is smeared over with cow-dung; this the wife has to knock down and tread upon. After this, the pair are left alone, and the marriage is consummated. Next day the *kendo* is trodden into the floor and plastered over with cow-dung, for it must not be seen. The pair are then shaved, he by the *paiyon*, she by the old woman, and the hair is buried in cow-dung under an erection of sticks called *kwonist*, which is set up in great secrecy by the *paiyon*. It is essential

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that one thing be used for both the female and harmful, and if there are no cattle in the bridegroom's settlement it must be procured from neighbours also. Marriage is prohibited.

Marriage with Kamâ

Eighteen marriages were recorded in genealogies between Dorobo and Kamâ or members of the Kamâ group:

Dorobo and Kamâ women: 9	Dorobo and Kamâ men: 7
Dorobo and Nandi women: 1	Dorobo and Nandi men: 1
Dorobo and Turkana women: 1	

Marriage of Dorobo women to outsiders seems to be due to the poverty of the Dorobo, which in these cases would have meant that the women would have remained unmarried; such marriages also mean the accession of stock to the Dorobo.

Polygyny

Although there is no objection to polygyny, Dorobo seldom have the means of acquiring more than one wife at a time, though several men accounted of re-marriage after a wife's death or desertion. In one genealogy a woman had as few than four successive husbands, none of them her husband's brother, and her only issue was one daughter.

Re-marriage of Widows

Unlike the Kamâ, the Dorobo recognize the re-marriage of widows in the normal manner on payment of bridewealth to their fathers, brothers, or other representatives; it is, however, unusual. Widows normally live with their husband's brothers, return to their parents, or else live alone.

Divorce

Divorce is rare, and is of one kind only—permanent. The husband can claim the return of the bridewealth. But a wife who has borne a child cannot be divorced for any cause whatsoever.

Birth

Intercourse between husband and wife stops at the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, and is not resumed till the child is about six months old. Birth takes place in the husband's hut, the husband going to live elsewhere meanly. The wife is attended by a midwife, experienced, and her mother is present if possible. She stays in the hut for six or seven days after the birth, and the child's body must be kept covered for several weeks, even the latter being allowed to see only the face. The mother must be purified by her husband, who kills a goat (which he must acquire somehow if he has none of his own) and rubs the fat and undigested grass (chyme) from the stomach on her face, breasts, and body. Children are weaned at the age of about a year. Twins are not liked, and the mother's ritual uncleanness caused by their birth must be removed by the killing of a goat which is eaten by the mother and her women friends. The Dorobo say that if a man has an ox a day or two since his wife bears twins, the ox will never again catch an enemy.

Children receive their first name, the *ngirik-name*, soon after birth, as among the Kamâ, this name is not used, but links the child with a preceding spirit. The second or principal name is given before the child can walk, at the time when it is first given solid food, and is called "*porridge name*" in imitation of the Kamâ custom. Children may also be given nicknames which often refer to some physical peculiarity. After circumcision, boys become *dorgi*, men of, others now taking their

patronymic from their father's guardian name. Younger sons generally take their patronymics from the father's clan-name, or else from some circumstance in their own lives.

Circumcision

Boys are circumcised at the same intervals as the Nandi, and the Dordos keep watch for the opening of the Nandi circumcision. Occasionally boys are circumcised in Nandi with other Nandi boys, but more often in the home, as in the circumcision of 1936–37. Sometimes a Dordos acts as operator for the Nandi. The whole procedure of circumcision (save in identical with that of the Nandi. Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy whenever there are enough ready to be done, and not at any stated intervals.

Age-sets

The Dordos have borrowed the whole age-set system from the Nandi, and it works exactly as among the Nandi, with the same set-names and 15-year intervals synchronized with those of the Nandi. The reader may therefore be referred to the account of the Nandi system, p. 31. A slight difference in the sub-divisions called *mut* may be noted: the Dordos have only three, called *Cogetuech*, the senior; *Taiyotik* or *Kipkilionyek*, the middle; and *Kwondamik* or *Kipsiwanik*, the junior. A more significant difference is that the sets have no military or political force, for the Dordos are not fighters, and the practical effect of the system is to introduce further behavioural patterns, as well as to modify the traditional rules of hospitality; for while an Dordos would refuse to shelter one of his own lords, the degree of hospitality varies according to the age-set situation.

Political Structure

Land Division

The Dordos live mainly in clan settlements divided between a number of districts or *pororiet* (*koroonet*, sing. *koret*). Till about 1930 these settlements were in small clearings inside the forest; after 1937 they were spread round the outer edge of the forest.

The Clan

The clan, *ent*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *kind ap ent*, the animal of the clan. The existence of eight clans is attested by genealogies and the census; three others are reported to exist or to have existed, though none occurred in any records; they were, however, mentioned to me in 1937 as well as in 1936–8. Each of these clans has one totem, except Mut which has three, one of which it shares with another clan; it is not the totem which is important, but the group itself, the clan being a social group, and a group of people mystically related through their totem. The emphasis is therefore on the clan name and not on the animal, though marriage, nevertheless, is forbidden within the clan. An exception to this rule is found in the case of Mut, where intermarriage is allowed between people of different totems, an anomalous feature due possibly to the influence of the Nandi, among whom Mut marriages are common between people of different totems. (See p. 27.) There seem to be no restrictions either on marriage between clans (as among the Nandi), or on killing or eating the clan animal, which suggests that originally the Dordos clans were non-totemic, and that their present totemism is a feature borrowed from the Nandi along with the clan names, which except for one of the reported clans are all Nandi.

* The Nandi occasionally use *ngorok* for the *ent*; it is a Nandi word meaning "the horns."

3:Huntingford E-S (1921-1928)929 FLA Dorobo FLA

Where a man is ill and dies, it is said that bad milk (milk she-goat, K.) have killed him; if he recovers, a good milcher has saved him. No offerings are made to the bad milk.

There is also a vague belief in a future life. A man's spirit is said to go on death to the forest up hill (K.), or land of the spirits, which is under the earth, and is a bad place.

Magic.

There are magicians (*pwolindet*, pl. *pwoik*, K.) who are bad, and who prevent people from getting food by means of their spells. There are also diviners (*arkolget*, pl. *arkoik*, K.).[1] There is no equivalent of the modern Nandi system of "arkwinet" or rule by a medicine-man.

Medicines and Charms.

(a) *Medicines.*—For snake-bite, the gum of the tibet tree is used, mixed with the honey of a species of bee, called "kosomyet" (K.), and rust's fat. This concoction is rubbed on the affected part, and a little is also eaten. For coughs, a plant called "epsito" is chewed; this is used for all chest complaints.

(b) *Charms.*—Children wear a charm to ward off the evil-eye (*sakut*, K.), which is similar to that worn by Nandi children. It consists of a necklace of seeds of the kepuyweet tree (K. *kepuswik*) strung on a cord, the seeds being separated by short pieces of bamboo (Text-fig. 20). Old men wear a charm to keep away circumcision (*kimokwopet*, or *kwosito* (*kwosiss*), K.); it is made of two small pieces of the chemoket tree,[2] about 1 in. long, which are tied to the belt (Text-fig. 19).

V.—Social Institutions.

Social Divisions.

The male sex is divided into boys (*kpetik*, K.), warriors (*murenik*, K.), and old men (*pwiinik*, or *epwiinik*, K.); the female sex, into girls (*kipili*, K.) and women (*kwomik*, or *okipiniik*, K.). At circumcision, a boy becomes a warrior and a girl a woman.

Married and unmarried people sleep separately. Married people and small children may sleep in the same hut, while unmarried men sleep elsewhere, often in the *sigiriet* (K.), or "warriors' hut," where they cohabit with the unmarried girls. Though free-love is practised, it is not carried to such an extent as among the Nandi, and although girls sleep with warriors, they like to preserve their virginity till circumcision. Warriors frequently marry their sweethearts (*murenik*; K. *murenik*), whereas in Nandi they usually marry someone else.

The position of women is the same as it is among the Nandi, that is, they wait on the men, do all the menial work, and are their husband's property.

[1] This word is not used with the same sense in Nandi, originally it seems to have meant simply "medicine-man" (Swahili, *mganga*).

[2] *Euphorbia candelabrum.*

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Names.

Before a child is born, the spirit of an ancestor is called upon, and the child receives the name of that ancestor, which he retains throughout his life.[1] At circumcision, a man becomes *Arap* (*asoon*), "*Son of (Bo-and-so),*" *e.g.* a boy named Kipon, whose father's name is Kimoiliy, becomes Kipon arap (Ki)poiniliy, and is known as *Arap* (Ki)poiniliy. Both the masculine and feminine names are mostly Nandi.

Circumcision. (Tom,* K.)

The customs connected with circumcision seem to be very similar to those of the Nandi. Boys are circumcised at intervals of about ten years; the ceremony takes place after harvest, about October, when extra food is bought from the Nandi; the actual operation is performed in the early morning. In the case of girls, a circumcision is held when there are sufficient girls in a district of an age to be circumcised; only the clitoris is removed. Circumcision, as among the Nandi, and in ancient Egypt, is a form of initiation into manhood or womanhood, and is preparatory to marriage.

Marriage.

It is usual for Dorobo to have only one wife, as they are unable to support more. The price of a wife is paid chiefly in honey-wine. Before marriage the suitor gives to the girl's father as much honey-wine "as four women can carry." He also gives the parents honey-wine year by year after marriage, and he must give the father caps (*sambut*, pl. *sindwinik*) made of the skin of the black monkey (*Cercopithecus albigularis*). Nowadays, if a Dorobo has any cattle, he sometimes takes a second wife.

Death.

When a Dorobo dies, his body is taken out into the forest, about 200 to 300 yards from his hut, and left for the hyænas (*kimarokat*) to devour.

Miscellaneous.

When a Dorobo thanks a person, he spits in the direction of the person, with or without saying "*Kongoi*," K. ("Thanks").

The Dorobo call each other in the forest by blowing horns of water-buck (*Aondi*), K.).

Salutations:—

(a) Of greeting:—To men, "*Supai*"; answer, "*Chow-ke*" (health). To girls and women, "*Tilimoya*"; answer, "*Iyô.*"

(b) Of farewell:—"*Sainoo*" (good-bye); answer, "*Sainoo ak inge*" (good-bye to thee), or, "*Sainoo ak ahwak*" (good-bye to you).

Except "*Chow-ke*" as the answer to "*Supai*," these are the same as in Nandi.

[1] The Nandi also give children "spirit names" (*kotosi ap sith*), which, however, are seldom used.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

and (3) *Maruket*, the sons and daughters of both his father's brother and his father's sister. There is thus a sharp distinction between cousins on the father's and the mother's side, and a divergence from the Nandi usage. That the mother's brother's children count as *mama* may be due to Nandi influence, for, as we shall see, the mother's brother is not the relative of importance to the Dorobo that he is to the Nandi. *Kesenda* is a word meaning 'brother, sister' which occurs in other Nandi dialects, though not in Nandi itself, and may possibly be derived from the verb *kesen* 'carry a child', it being one of the duties of a child, especially of a girl, to carry about its small brother or sister.

(woman speaking)

According to feminine terminology, these relatives are grouped in four classes, with a change of term: (1) *Kesenda*, brother and sister; (2) *Apulaiyo*, mother's brother's children; (3) *Maruket*, the children of both father's brother and father's sister; (4) *Eiyo*, the children of mother's sister.

8. The First Descending Generation

(man speaking)

The children of a man and his brothers are all called *apas*; but the children of his sister and of his mother's brother's children are *mama*, his sister's son having also the alternative term *of wairil ap cepto*, which means 'son of the girl', and is applied in Nandi to father's sister's son who is otherwise called *mama*. The Dorobo grouping which places the sister's children in the mother's brother's category is unusual and there is here a wide divergence from the Nandi rule.

(woman speaking)

A woman calls her children *laiuet*, 'child'; her brother's and sister's children are *senge*; the children of her mother's brother's children, *akui*; and the children of her mother's sister's children are *eiyo*. The term *senge* in Nandi means 'sister of a parent', and refers to the father's sister; in Dorobo it is applied to the reciprocal, the brother's son, and is extended to the sister's son. It is also used, as in Nandi, as a term of endearment to small children.

We now return to the children, male and female, of the father's brother's children and of the father's sister's children, all of whom are called *maruket*. According to statements made independently by four different Dorobo elders, a man may marry one of the girls whom he calls *maruket*, that is, his father's sister's daughter's daughter (the daughter of his cross-cousin).

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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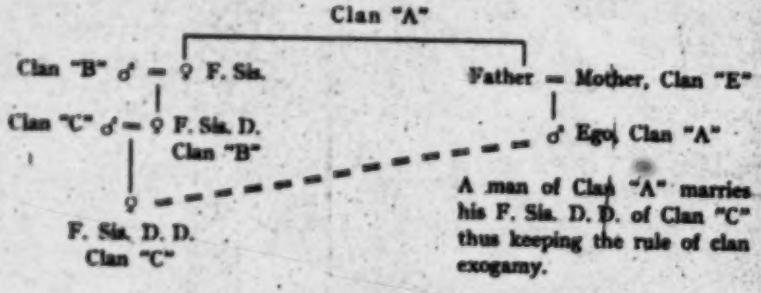

Clan "A"
Clan "B" ♂ — ♀ F. Sis.
Father — Mother, Clan "E"
Clan "C" ♂ — ♀ F. Sis. D.
Clan "B"
♂ Ego, Clan "A"
♀
F. Sis. D. D.
Clan "C"
A man of Clan "A" marries his F. Sis. D. D. of Clan "C" thus keeping the rule of clan exogamy.

This statement was not supported by any of my genealogies; but this does not necessarily mean that the practice was never followed, and my informants insisted that this type of marriage was not only allowed, but actually took place in the past. On the other hand, they said that marriage with any other kind of cousin within the *tiliet* was "very bad". In actual fact, however, marriage with the father's sister's daughter's daughter was probably not common, even in the past, and to-day would be quite impossible, partly from disparity of age (though this is not in itself a serious bar), and partly from the shortage of women and lack of wealth. If a man was a *Nyongi*, he might be about forty years old, and his *macokor* would be perhaps ten, uninitiated, and too young to cohabit; she would therefore be suitable only as a second wife, a luxury out of the reach of most Dorobo. An equally serious objection lies in the fact that owing to the small number of clans, a man's *macokor* may often be of his own clan and thus barred from marriage with him.

6. The Second Descending Generation

(man speaking)

The term *akui* covers most of this generation: it includes the children of one's own children (grandchildren), children of brother's and sister's children, children of father's brother's grandchildren, and children of father's sister's grandchildren. The children of mother's brother's grandchildren are *mama*, and of the mother's sister's grandchildren, *kesenda*. [603] Thus a man's own grandchildren are classed as grandparents.

(woman speaking)

Grandchildren are *apaa*; grandchildren of brother and sister are *senge*, and of mother's sister, *eiyo*; the rest are *akui*.

AFFINALS:

(man speaking)

Wife is *muroriat*; wife's brother, *konyit*, and his wife, *pôker*; wife's sister, *pukot*, and her husband, *kipukotiet*. Wife's parents are *pamono* (m.) and *pôker* (f.). Wife's brother's and sister's children are *apaa* (m.) and *pakuo* (f.).

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

a Nandi, and her husband is spoken of with less respect than Kicoti's, though both men are referred to as *konyit*. Their children are called *mama*.

His father's sister Cepulpul and her husband Turiepuku are both dead, and if he speaks of them it is by the terms *pukot* and *konyit*; but her son Kipkoiec is, as *macokor*, on the same footing as Leii and Kimaiyo, the sons of his father's elder brother Kaola, allowing for the difference of age-set. Pilo is a *Nyongi*, as also is Leii; but Kimaiyo is a *Maina*. On the other hand, Kimaiyo is a policeman, which somewhat outweighs the difference. Cepkemoi and Cerob, the daughters of Pilo's father's younger brother Kiptoo have lessened themselves to a certain extent in old-fashioned Dorobo eyes by marrying Nandi (though Dorobo-Nandi marriage has been practised for a long time), and they live at a distance. The wife of Leii and the husband of Cepkumuren, Pilo's other *macokor*, are both Dorobo, and although they live near the forest, there is a good deal of intercourse between their families. All these people are spoken of as *macokorennyon*, and addressed as *macokoronni*, *macokor*, or by name. Their spouses are spoken of as *konyit*. Though Kimopo Arap Mining, the husband of Cepkumuren, is *konyit* to Pilo, his relatives are outside the *tiliet* as far as Pilo himself is concerned (though not of course for Cepkumuren), and this applies also to the relatives of his sisters' husbands; such people when on terms of friendship and visiting are addressed and referred to by name, or they may be spoken to by the word *leiye*, a general term of address to any person of either sex with whom one is friendly. An old woman like Cesikirikat, Arap Mining's mother (not named in the genealogy), would not be addressed as *leiye*, however, but as *koho* "grandmother" or *cepiosonni*, "old woman", though not related in any way, but out of respect because Pilo is a friend of Arap Mining, and often meets his relatives, including Cesikirikat.

Kaola and Kiptoo, the brother's of Pilo's father, lived for many years at Cepkunyuk, four miles from Kiptarakon, close to and inside the boundary of the Nandi Reserve; but in 1939 they went to live in Sosoiyo near the forest. At that time, both of them were more active than their brother Kipkatam (Pilo's father) who, if he had been a European, would have been described as "bed-ridden"; and for practical purposes Kaola took the place of a father to Pilo and his brothers and sisters. Kipkatam was deaf, nearly blind, almost speechless, and hardly able to move; so when Pilo wanted to consult anyone, he turned to Kaola, or if he was away, to the slightly younger Kiptoo.

It will be seen that a sister's children are not *apaa*, like a brother's, but *mama*. Pilo's sister's children are a typical case. They live at a distance, and so are as remote from him as all the descendants of his mother's brother (*mama*) Nekoi who, with his wife and his son in law Kilanya and his family, lives at Ngatepkong on the far side of the forest and has little to do with Pilo. Moreover, the only link between Pilo and Nekoi, his mother Keuarie, is there no longer, for she died some years ago; so Nekoi and his family are just spoken of as *mama* — when it is necessary to speak of them at all, for though they exist they count very little in Pilo's life.

Between Pilo and his brother Coimim there is a good deal of inter-

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

arap Ruto. There were also two old women, Cesikirikat mother of Arap Mining, and Cepkatet mother of Cesundil. With these lived Cesundil's young sister Cepkoiec, aged about 15, who helped her brother's wife to look after the two children, and slept either in her mother's hut, or in the hut of Cesikirikat, eating with her mother or with Cesundil and his wife. The three men Malakuen, Kipsang, and Kimutai lived together, eating with either of the old women (contributing their share of the food), while Kipungei lived alone, eating with his mother. Cepkoiec could marry none of these young men, since they were all her clansmen. Such an arrangement seems to be quite usual when a girl has reached puberty but has not yet been circumcised. At Sosoiyo a somewhat younger girl named Cepotip lived in a small hut (*sikiroinet*) with her youngest brother Kimitei (a *juma*). When she went visiting to the neighbouring settlement Ndoroton she stayed with women there who, when they came to Sosoiyo, slept in Cepotip's hut, the boy going out to sleep elsewhere.

Where other relatives are concerned, the age-set behaviour patterns tend to replace those of kinship, and even when people are related and within the *tilil*, they are for practical purposes little more regarded than fellow-clansmen. Indeed, in a clan settlement, such people have more influence and effect on their neighbours' children than blood-relatives who live at a distance.

In a primitive people like the Dorobo there is little formality in the educational system, which consists largely of training in obedience, behaviour, and techniques, which are learned from the parents and others with whom the child comes into contact. These contacts are not large owing to the nature of the country and the social system, and thus the relatives with whom a child is seriously concerned are but few. This narrow range of contact must be considered in the light of such important factors as the absence of tracks through the forest, the scattering of relatives, and the abnormal shyness and suspicion of the Dorobo.

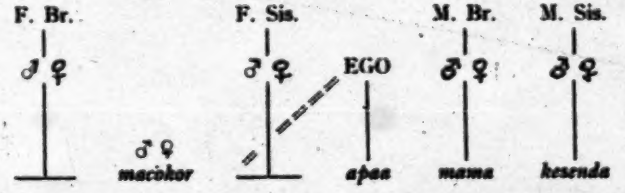
Up to the age when a child can be of some help to its parents, both boys and girls are mainly with their mother, who teaches them the business of eating and living in a hut. She corrects childish bad habits and makes them familiar with the ordinary customs and precautions of every day life that have to be observed in Dorobo surroundings. The father corrects improper behaviour towards himself and the mother.

But at the age of usefulness, which comes a little before the onset of puberty, and depends on the child's growth and intelligence, there is a division of duties between the parents. The father begins to teach his son the elements of hunting and trapping, how to make things of wood, how to skin animals, and how to use a bow and arrow, in short, how to behave like a man and do man's work. The mother teaches her daughter how to manage a home, how to look after small children, and how to perform the normal tasks of a Dorobo woman. At this stage both boys and girls are in one respect general servants of the family; they have to herd any stock their father may possess, and make themselves useful about the homestead.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Between a man and the members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed. As the Dorobo put it, *Kicupakei, kiurenencinkei, kiilencinkei, 'Kumin kon, ngut kum kamat', amu ki lakok.* ("We use bad language to one another, we play together, we say to each other, 'May your father lie with you, or may you lie with your mother', because we are children", i. e. we are all of the same age.) These rude phrases, however, must never be used to elders, and to do so is very shameful; but spoken to members of one's own age-set or generation they are quite harmless and have no sinister implications. Between the sexes of the same generation there may be a perfectly innocuous intimacy, between brother and sister, between *macokor, mama,* and *kesenda,* which allows any kind of joking and language but stops short of actual sexual intercourse; and in spite of this license, such evidence as there was indicated that incest was not common. Between members of the same generation, especially in youth and early middle age, there is also a strong bond in the shape of mutual help and support among those who live near each other, extending to all departments of home life. The effect of propinquity must not be overlooked, and the claims of even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen may be reduced to insignificance.

The general attitude of a man's own children to the children of his *macokor,* his *mama,* and his *kesenda,* is the same, in that they are all like his own children, who may be played with or reproved when necessary, but without the use of any bad language or abuse. To those children to whom he is 'father's brother' there is of course the special attitude that I have already described. But between members of this generation there is a marked terminological difference:

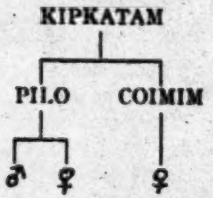


so that by classification all the children on the father's side are *macokor,* while those on the mother's side are both *mama* and *kesenda*; and a man's own children are *apaa,* while those of his sister are *mama.* When the children are small these differences are merely nominal and not apparent; but as they grow older a distinction tends to arise between those on the father's side and those on the mother's side, especially between *macokor* and *mama*; and this is emphasized by the possibility that a man might marry his *macokor* (father's sister's daughter's daughter), even if he seldom or never does so in fact.

Between a man and the second descending generation there is a relationship of respect, for terminologically his grandchildren are equated with his grandfather. In practice, however, this generation counts as far as he

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

603 is concerned, as little as its reciprocal owing to his age, for when his grandchildren are growing up he will be as old as his own grandfather when he himself was a child.



. . . . . 1st descending generation

. . . . . 2nd descending generation

[588] Kipkatam in this diagram is too old, decrepit, and blind even to notice his grandchildren, and he cannot therefore keep an eye on them when their mother goes to the *shamba*. In fact, all the men of this generation whom I saw among the Dorobo were too old to do anything for their grandchildren, though in certain cases grandmothers are able to give a good deal of help to their sons' wives, since women are usually younger than their husbands, [589] even if the disparity in age is but small.

606 Between a man and his relations by marriage, behaviour tends to be much more formal and intercourse to be more restricted, than between blood-kindred. A man is not supposed to converse with his wife's father, in whose presence he must watch carefully his speech and actions, though he may greet him when they meet; if they should happen to be together, the son in law should sit silent out of respect. Before marriage, however, a man may visit the parents of his intended bride to make the necessary arrangements with her father. With his wife's mother a man should have nothing to do at all; he should not only refrain from speaking to her, but should go out of his way to avoid her, both if he meets her out of doors and if he finds her in a hut. This rule of complete avoidance is usually relaxed as he grows older, and the time comes when he may even sit and talk to her, as Arap Mining did to the mother of his second wife Cepkumuren. Relations between a woman and the mother or father of her husband, however, are of necessity different. She may have to live with them, or at least in close proximity to them, whereas her husband may seldom come into contact [591] with her parents; and therefore she cannot be expected to avoid her husband's parents. Her attitude to his father is one of respect due to a senior, with such converse as is inevitable when two people have to live together, and with a certain amount of familiarity arising from the fact that the old man may be in need of physical help from her. Her relations with his mother are greatly affected by her children and the consequent need for co-operation between the two women in seeking their welfare.

607 Between a man and his wife's brother and his wife's sister and her husband, there may be what the Dorobo call *ureriet*, "play", which means that they may greet each other, make fun of one another, and behave in fact in a normal friendly manner; but there must be no loose talk, dirty jests, or sexual allusions. Between him and his wife's brother's wife, on

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

614 177 11. Kongot, the only true Dorobo clan-name left, and apparently corresponding to Nandi Kipkoiiting; totem, *kipsekeriet**.

The clan-animals are: *kouonyot*, crested crane, called the same in Nandi; *soiet*, buffalo, called *soet* in Nandi; *kipkamoiet*, a small red bird, called the same in Nandi; *konokcot*, baboon, called *moset* in Nandi; *uemuuyo*, duiker, Elgon Nandi *uemuiyon*, Nandi *ceptirkicet*; *toraet*, bush pig, Elgon Nandi *toraet*, Nandi *toret*; *ropta*, rain, called the same in Nandi; *kimaroket*, hyaena, called *kimaketiet* in Nandi; *sombit*, lion, called *uetundo* in Nandi; *cauweretiet*, partridge, called *taiynet* in Nandi; *asista*, the sun, called the same in Nandi; and *kipsekeriet*, snake, called *erenet* in Nandi.

The clan is referred to simply as *oret* and not, as among the Nandi, by the phrase *tiond ap oret*; and when asking a man his clan the expression is *Ne ornuuau*? "what is your *oret*?" whereas in Nandi the question is nearly always put in the form *Ne tiond ap ornuuau*? "what is the animal of your oret?" Clansfellows are considered as *tilionutik*, relatives; marriage [582] within the clan therefore is not allowed, with one apparent exception which will be explained later. Clansmen are addressed commonly as *Ornuyon*, or else as *Ar t apa*, the latter meaning "father's brother's son", and emphasizing the theoretical relationship between clansfellows.

[267] There seems to be no sort of restriction on the killing or eating of the clan animal, for as the Dorobo say, *Cito makiome kitio, kiome tiouik tukul* ("It is only man that we do not eat, we eat all (other) animals"), and there is not even the half-hearted apology such as that made by a Nandi when he kills his totem by mistake or intention. This negative attitude to the clan animal suggests that the Dorobo clans were originally non-totemic, and that they borrowed the totem idea along with the clan-names and other cultural features.

614 588 Marriage within the clan is forbidden, except in the case of Moi. This exception was explained by three senior elders in the following terms: *Cii nepo Moi kiituni cepto nepo Moi ingo po kot ake ne menye koret ake a mekomi tiliet*; *ngut kiitun nepo tiond ake, mapile* ("A man of Moi may marry a girl of Moi if they are of a different house, live in a different parish, and are not related, provided their clan animals are different"). This is because the Moi clan has three totems, so that

one whose totem is Kongonyot may marry one with Soiet or Kipkamoiet;
one whose totem is Soiet may marry one with Kongonyot or Kipkamoiet;
one whose totem is Kipkamoiet may marry one with Soiet or Kongonyot.

The rule of exogamy can therefore be preserved by calling the clan by its animal-name, though ordinarily emphasis is on the clan as a group and not on its animal. This may be due to Nandi influence, among whom Moi-Moi marriages are common when the parties have different animals. But though permitted by the Dorobo, I found only one actual instance of such a marriage, where a Kongonyot man married a Soiet girl.

[177] There appear to be no restrictions on marriage between clans such as occur among the Nandi. Korapor, for instance, may marry Kapsekoi, though in Nandi such a marriage is forbidden.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

though in Nandi such a marriage is forbidden. This statement is based on the evidence of genealogies, which show as well that (1) a man may marry into the clan of his mother or his mother's mother, (2) a man who marries two wives may take both from the same clan, and (3) two brothers may marry women of the same clan.

V. Marriage

1. Circumcision

Circumcision is a preliminary to marriage; but since the whole process is almost identical with that of the Nandi, it is not necessary to describe it, and the reader may be referred to HOLLIS's description for the details [14]. It is probable that the practice was borrowed from the Nandi along with the age-set system with which it is closely connected. The fact that the Nandi sometimes use a Dorobo to perform the operation on their boys, and that the Masae in the past normally did so might suggest that the Dorobo practised it before they came in contact with the Masae or Nandi. But in view of the close resemblance of the Dorobo to the Nandi procedure, and the use of Nandi terms, there seems to be nothing particularly significant in the employment of Dorobo as operators; and since the operation of clitoridectomy which is performed on the girls is undoubtedly of Hamitic origin, we may be justified in assuming that the Dorobo have borrowed the whole business from the Nandi [15].

Dorobo boys are often circumcised in Nandi along with Nandi boys by an operator who may be either Nandi or Dorobo. Arap Mining was circumcised at Cepkunyuk together with another Dorobo named Arap Eirusi and eight Nandi, the operator being a Dorobo. The periods of circumcision correspond with those of the Nandi, for the Dorobo have not worked out a method of time-reckoning of their own, but contented themselves with watching the doings of the Nandi. When they saw that they were preparing for circumcision, they collected their boys between the ages, roughly, of 15 to 18 years, and made the necessary arrangements. Although boys are sometimes circumcised in the Nandi country, the Dorobo prefer to do it on their own, and the circumcision of 1926-1930 was done in the forest. No Nandi initiates take part in a forest circumcision, but Nandi assemble as spectators, both to see the fun and to get some free honey, a good deal of which has been collected beforehand in readiness for the circumcision. As well as collecting honey, the initiates' parents do a round of visits to both Dorobo and Nandi friends in order to beg or buy food for their sons to live on after the operation.

In both sexes the effect of the circumcision (*tum*) is that it makes

[14] See his book „The Nandi, their language and folk lore", pp. 52-60.

[15] This use of outsiders to circumcise is perhaps analogous to the employment by the Somali of Yibir women to perform clitoridectomy on their girls, the Yibir being one of the non-Somali outcast groups.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

881 them complete adult members of the horde, and no male could get a wife if he was uncircumcised; but it is possible for an uninitiated girl to get married, though few in fact are married without being circumcised.

2. Pre-marital sex-life

836 [885] Having attained manhood through circumcision, the Dorobo is free, subject to the restrictions inevitably imposed by a small population, to enter into legitimate sex-life. But unmarried men often have to go without a great deal of sexual experience before they marry, and some in fact never [589] marry at all because of the shortage of women. Even in the old days few girls were available, and there were only married women with whom they could not consort unless prepared to be shot by injured husbands if found 589 out. This state of affairs has led to some men living alone and unmarried, helped in their household tasks by women of the settlement. Some even did everything for themselves. The shortage of women, and the shyness of the Dorobo has resulted in a definite habit sufficiently in evidence to justify the application of a special term, for which I suggest the word monōsis. And it is to be noted that the Dorobo have accepted the condition of monōsis as something quite natural, whereas by many other peoples the unmarried state in a grown man is considered unnatural.

836 Young Dorobo to whom life without love does not appeal therefore wander about a good deal, going to places where they know there are girls, or women with whom they can have surreptitious affairs, such women often being the wives of age-mates, for although this is not openly allowed, a [837] woman will sometimes, when her husband is away, oblige one of his age-mates and say nothing about it. In favourable circumstances, however, when there are girls available, unmarried circumcised men build small huts called *sikiroinet* close to their fathers' huts, where they may sleep with uncircumcised girls, each man choosing a girl and associating with her till she is married. A Dorobo, unlike the Nandi, often marries his premarital [814] lover. Uncircumcised boys caught by the men playing with girls who are sexually mature are beaten, for love affairs are the privilege of manhood.

3. Marriage

● 582 Dorobo generally marry women of an age fairly near their own, and do not by preference marry women very much younger than themselves.

584 A man chooses his wife for himself, and himself makes the preliminary arrangements. After making his choice, he takes the first step, by "going the journey" (*wendi koito*), to the hut of the girl's parents, or if they are dead, of a responsible relative, and hands over a large bag of honey, saying, "I want your daughter", to which the father answers, "Very well, take her presently". This ready acquiescence is due to the fact that the father already knows what is going on, for the suitor has been making enquiries about the girl, and such things always reach the ears of those concerned. Later

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

551 (4) The patronymic. This is the equivalent of a surname, and consists of the father's porridge-name preceded by the word *Arap*, "son of", though sometimes a nickname is used instead of the porridge-name. Younger sons, however, do not as a rule take their father's porridge-name, though they may take his nickname, but often choose a name alluding to some circumstance in their life, as in the case of Arap Mining's younger brother Kimutai, who, having had to make a long journey to be circumcised, called himself Arap Ruto, "son of 'he made a journey'". The complete series of names (not always borne, nor always obtainable) belonging to the father of Pilo, who was generally known as Arap Ngamngam, was Pasikirio Ndulii Kipkatam arap Ngamngam, the first being his spirit-name, the second his porridge-name, the third his nickname, and Arap Ngamngam his patronymic.

[553] On the subject of naming children, Arap Mining said in 1939, "My wife gave birth to a child about three months ago, it is true, but we have not named it yet, because we have not sought for a name, and we shall not do so till she has had another child. When the next child has been born, we shall give this one a name about seven days after the birth of the new one. If she does not have another child, we shall wait till this one can walk, and then we shall name it. But everybody does not do like this nowadays, for Arap Keter (Cesundil) has a daughter only six months old, and they have already named it Cepkasi, and his wife has not yet had another child. This baby was called Cepkasi because the father was working on a farm". (*Kasi* from Swahili *kazi* = work).

8. Marriage with Nandi

●582 197 Circumstances are forcing Dorobo to marry Nandi women to a greater extent than formerly, and Nandi are also, unreasonable as it may seem, marrying Dorobo women. We do not know the frequency of such marriages in the old days, but some figures for the present day can be obtained from my census and genealogies. Of 18 recorded marriages of Dorobo with Nandi and other tribes of the Nandi group,

5 were of Dorobo men with Nandi women;
2 were of Dorobo men with Keyo and Terik women;
10 were of Dorobo women with Nandi men;
1 was of a Dorobo woman with a Keyo man.

Of six Dorobo who married Nandi and Terik women, three lived in Nandi; and of ten Dorobo women who married Nandi, three lived in Nandi. There is thus a tendency on the part of Dorobo men to look for wives abroad owing to shortage at home, and on the part of Dorobo women to marry Nandi because of the poverty of the Dorobo and their occasional inability to find the material for bride-payment, with the result that even the women cannot get married in some cases unless to Nandi.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

in material culture. The Nandi keep cattle, till the soil, make pottery, and work iron, none of which the Dorobo did; and they have passed on to the Dorobo a number of things which have now become an inseparable part of Dorobo culture without receiving much from the Dorobo in return. Although the Nandi have never lived in the forest, they occupied and grazed their cattle till 1906 on the open ground to the west and southwest of the forest — the original Nandi divisions of Kamelilo and Kapcepkendi — and so contact was inevitable. There has been no fusion of the Dorobo with the Nandi; the few intermarriages have not resulted in anything like even partial fusion, and Dorobo who have lived for years in Nandi, like Arap Ngamngam and his sons, are regarded as nothing but Dorobo. Although KRAPF said that the "Wamau people are Wandurobo whose duty it is to hunt elephants for the Masai" [1], there are no indications whatever that the Kipkurerek ever had any "duties" to perform for the Nandi, and the occasional employment of a Dorobo as circumcisor by Nandi or Masae does not constitute "subjection". The Dorobo and Nandi have in fact lived their own separate lives, though they now share a good many cultural features which have been voluntarily adopted by the Dorobo.

A good deal, in fact, of their existing culture has been adopted from the Nandi, and among these adopted features we may include the following:

1. Clan names and possibly the totem idea, though not the clan system.
2. The method of dividing the country into districts or parishes (the Nandi *koret* system), and the resulting *koret* council (which is the basis of Nandi government).
3. Some relationship terms.
4. The age-set system, and circumcision.
5. Certain features of material culture like dress, ornaments, the use of iron objects, pottery and tobacco, and a certain type of hut. It is these features which give the Dorobo a superficial but misleading resemblance to the Nandi.
6. Language and time-reckoning.

The existence of Nandi clan-names, relationship terms, and time-reckoning may be accounted for by the use of the Nandi language. Circumcision and age-sets are definitely an Hamitic feature, and obviously borrowed from the Nandi complete with names and intervals. But the clan system is so fundamental a part of Dorobo organization that it must have existed before contact was made with the Nandi.

From the Dorobo point of view, their reception of Nandi culture may be expressed thus: Certain elements forced on them by economic pressure, like agriculture and stock, lead to economic advantage, as of course does the voluntary adoption of iron weapons and tools. Female dress and ornaments adopted voluntarily lead to prestige, while clan names, relationship

[1] Vocabulary of the Engutuk Eloikob (1854), p. 28. KRAPF seems to have been the first to suggest that the Dorobo were serfs of the Masae, a notion which I think is just as mistaken with regard to other Dorobo as it is to the Kipkurerek.

[Text continues on p. 126 -- Analyst]

/64 cont'd/
a statement made by Kivoi and recorded by Krapf in his Travels and Missionary Labours in East Africa to the effect that he (Kivoi) was going to "Muea, in the Wandurobo country". 648 101

73. The Tharaka say that they used to see Dorobo in the old days, but they seem to have had little if any contact with them. They call them Antorobo, the singular of which is Ntorobo, or, using the common convention for the recording of Meru names, M'Robo, that is, Muntu wa Robo, "person of Robo".

74. Dorobo and Gaki Kikuyu

A note in the Nyeri Political Record, referring to January 1911, states:

> "The District is divided up into agricultural, pasture and forest land. The agricultural portion is densely populated with natives. The West Kenya farms comprise the greater part of the pasture land while the forests are at present the home of the Dorobo."

It was by the clearing of the forest that the Nyeri Kikuyu obtained their agricultural land and they must certainly have met the Dorobo in the process. This is borne out by another note of the same date in the same record: "The Kikuyu may not intermarry with the Dorobo". This injunction may have been operative at the time it was recorded but there seems to have been considerable intermarriage in earlier times. [582]

The Nyeri Kikuyu, however, told the 1929 Committee that the Dorobo were among the Masai, not among themselves. Yet there were men present at the baraza who knew perfectly well that the Dorobo had quite recently lived just north of them and had had considerable intercourse with them from time to time and that, in fact, there was quite a lot of Dorobo blood in their own veins. The evidence, native and non-native, given to the Land Commission makes this quite clear. Mr. K.G. Lindsay's memorandum refers to the Dorobo called Ndigiri, who, he says, claim to be of pure Dorobo descent and

/67 cont'd/

The people call themselves Ogiek. The Keriita section has nine clans, as follows: Kapkibotome, Kamwibu, Kapgwathiru, Kapleldegwa, Kabumbuit, Kapchoiro, Kamuri, Kabiaiya, and Kaplogwe. These are said to be exogamous. The prefix kap suggests that they were at one time territorial. The Kikuyu mbari ya is sometimes heard in place of this prefix, thus mbari ya Kibotome, mbari ya Mwibu, etc. There are said to be other clans which are not represented at Keriita. 614 [582]

If one asks an old man what his clan is he will very likely name one of the following instead of one of those given above: Il-mogethenithiek, Ilugumonithiek, Il-mulelionithiek, Iraitheriek, Il-bargenetithiek, Il-taretheru, Il-kiboronithiek, Il-aitaiyuk, and Il-giringishu. It will be noticed that most of these have both the Masai and the Nandi (Dorobo) articles. The first eight correspond to the Masai clans or sub-clans Il-Mokesen, Il-Lughumae, Il-Molelyan, 'L-Aiser, Il-Parkeneti, Il-Tarosero, Il-Kiporon and 'L-Aitayok respectively, and the ninth is clearly a Masai name. Sometimes a more Bantu-sounding variation is heard, Mugethe instead of Il-mogethenithiek and Ndaruthiru instead of Il-taretheru for instance.

/68/ Occasionally an old man will name one of the nine Kikuyu major clans as his clan, and I was told that there is a correspondence between the nine Kikuyu major clans, the nine named Masai clans, and the nine Dorobo clans, but lists of such alleged correspondences vary with the informant and no informant that I discovered could give a complete list. This is not surprising, for the Masai correspondences are said to be based on friendship and the Kikuyu correspondences on blood-brotherhood, both of which probably affected individual families rather than whole clans.

The word used for "clan" is olgelatait (pl. ilgelataithiek), which has both the Masai and Nandi (Dorobo) articles. The former is frequently omitted. This word may be the same as the Masai ol-ng'elata, which Hollis translates as "the plain between two hills". This again suggests clan-territoriality, as the word may have been used by the Dorobo to mean a stretch of country inside natural boundaries, e.g. rivers.

[P185,B]

applied also to the husbands of F. Br. D., F.Sis.D., Sis., M.Br. D., M.Sis.D., and to W.Br. It is therefore the male equivalent of *puhot*. 601

Second Ascending Generation.

(1) F.F., F.M., and M.F., M.M.=*KUKO, koko*, and also *AGWI, agwi*, the latter applied by courtesy to F.F.Br., M.F.Br., F.F.Sis., M.F.Sis., and their children.

Third Ascending Generation.

(1) F.F.F., F.F.M., F.M.F., F.M.M., M.F.F., M.F.M., M.M.F., M.M.M.=*MACHOKOR, makikat*.

Ego's own Generation.

(1) Br., Sis., M.Sis.S., M.Sis.D.=*KESENDA, Kesenda*, linking these two groups in a br.—sis. relationship.

(2) M.Br. S., M.Br. D.=*MAMA, mama*, as M.Br.

(3) F.Br. S., F.Br. D., F.Sis. S., F.Sis.D.=*MACHOKOR, machokor*.

There is here a sharp distinction between cousins on the father's and the mother's side, the former being linked with 3rd ascending and 1st descending generations, the latter with one's brothers and sisters. [605]

First Descending Generation.

(1) Children both ♂ and ♀ of F.Br.S. and D. and of F.Sis. S. and D. are *MACHOKOR*, the same as their parents. According to Dorobo statements, a man is allowed to marry his F. Sis. D.D.—his *machokor*—, but no other woman whom he calls by a relationship term. [582]

[P.185, C]

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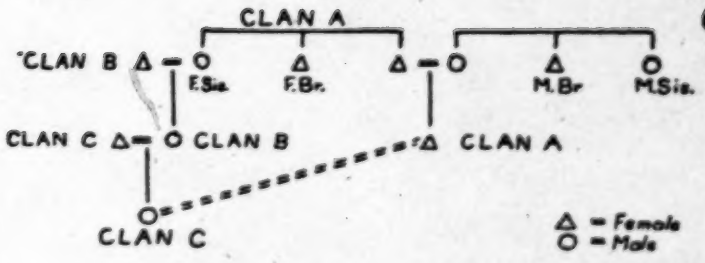


THEORETICAL MARRIAGE WITH E.Sis.D.D.

This statement is not supported by any of my genealogies, but this does not necessarily mean it has never occurred, and my informants were unanimous in asserting it. A man can therefore in theory marry his classificatory grand-daughter; he would not be likely to do so in fact on account of the shortage of women, and the lack of wealth. [595]

582 602

[Text continues top of p. 186, B-Analysis]

(2) Ego's S. and D., and Br. S. and D.— *APAA, apaa.* 601

(3) Children both ♂ and ♀ of Sis., and of M. Br. S.—*MAMA, mama*, placing them in the M.Br. category, an unusual feature, since the Nandi (and ? Masae) group M.Br. and M.Br. S. together, but have no term for M. Br. S.S., who is outside the *tiliet* or relationship.

(4) M.Br.D.S. and D.—*MAMA, mama*, again different from the Nandi, who regard them as outside the *tiliet*.

(5) Children both ♂ and ♀ of M.Sis. S. and D.— *KESENDA, Kesenda*, placing them in the same category as Br., Sis., and M.Sis.S. and D.

Second Descending Generation.

(1) Son's S. and D., Dau's S. and D.— *AGWI, agui*, i.e. they call ego *agui*—grandfather; and all of this generation are *agui* to ego, i.e. all children of *mackakav, apaa*, and *mama*, though not of M.Sis.S.S., who are *kesenda*.

[Text continues middle of p. 186, B-Analysis]

[P 186, B]

for if, e.g. a man was forty years old, and his 582
mankoker was only ten, he could marry her only 602
as a second wife, a luxury which few Dorobo can [579]
attain. And again, owing to the small number of
clans, the F.Sis. D.D. is often of the same clan,
and so barred from marriage, as in the following
case:—

A'

Functional analysis of terms: 9 speak- 601
ing. (W.S.)

First Ascending Generation.

(1) F.Br., M.Sis. are *BABA*, *ejw*, the same as when a man is speaking.

(2) M.Br.—*APULAITO*, <Maasi *apule*, <*ejw*, M.Br. (M.S.); M.Br.W.—*ejw* as M.S.

(3) M.Sis.Hus.—*KONYIT*, the ordinary term for a male relative by marriage, i.e. "husband," and applied also to the same other categories as M.S.

(4) F.Sis., F.Br.W.—*Sisabi*.

Terms for second and third ascending generations are the same as M.S.

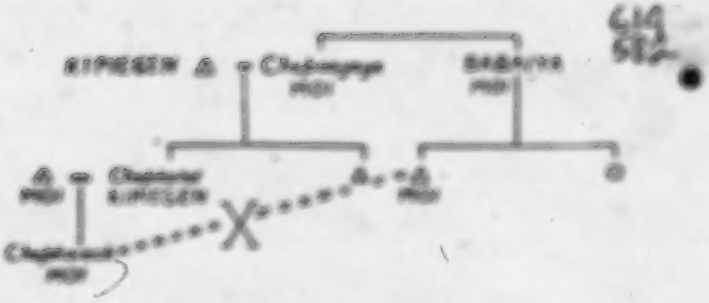
Ego's own Generation.

As when M.S., there is a distinction between [602]
the paternal and maternal sides. The children of
F.Br. and F.Sis. are all grouped as *MACHO-KOR*, *mankoker*, while on the maternal side
we have:—

(1) M.Br.S. and D.—*AGWI*, *agwi*.

(2) M.Sis.S. and D.—*EIYO*, *ejw*:—

[P.186,C]



CLAN - BAR TO

D K 4[illegible]

Dorobo got a right to meat-meat and the Kikuyu a right to cultivate, because they had become brothers in one family. But according to Dorobo law it did not give the Kikuyu any right to purchase land (in any sense at all) belonging to the group, though by Kikuyu law it gave the Dorobo the right to place a piece of land with the Kikuyu as security for any goats he needed, provided the Kikuyu and the other elders (Dorobo) both agreed. In view of the fact that Dorobo law contemplated one way only ("marriage" which was "exogamous") by which land could be transferred in anything approaching perpetuity and that transferor and transferee could not be members of the same cohort, I regard the Kikuyu statement that an adoption-rite was a preliminary to (and part and parcel of) a sale of land as a recent interpretation of what came to pass years later, rather than what was actually intended at the time, and I consider any clauses of the adoption vow which purport to refer to such a sale as sheer interpolations introduced to make the theory fit the fact of final irredeemability. Brotherhood and outright sale were incompatible. The Dorobo interviewed (some of whom had apparently taken part in adoption rites) were definite that the vows referred to brotherhood and mutual protection—nothing else.

But a redeemable "sale" of land between Dorobo and Kikuyu cannot be ruled out, I think, although not contemplated in Dorobo law. One must suppose that some degeneration of Dorobo principles would naturally set in; while they could get the meat they wanted so much more easily the Dorobo would be loath to use the somewhat strenuous methods of their culture; their moral fibre would be weakened. However, we have said that the brotherhood was unilateral, there being nothing very forceful in the evidence (Kikuyu or Dorobo) or indeed in the recorded vows to suggest that such was not the case, and this would mean a gradual supersession of Dorobo by Kikuyu law. But the change would only bring Dorobo law into closer harmony with Kikuyu; it would not involve new principles opposed to those of both, or principles repugnant to the cult of spirits, such as outright unconditional sale. Redeemable exchange, in theory, was no exchange at all, and, though apparently unknown to the Dorobo, would scarcely violate the spirit of their laws nor yet their law of spirits.

D K [illegible]

Inter-marriage is another of the methods mentioned. The marriage of a Kikuyu to a Dorobo girl, being a matrilocal marriage,

D K 4[illegible]

5:Lambert--124 G-5 (ca. 1935-1950) 1950 FL10 Kikuyu FL10
Dorobo FL6

DK 425 58

would confer no rights in land except perhaps a meagre one of cultivation only. The marriage of a Dorobo to a Kikuyu girl, the "bride-price" being paid in land, would in theory be impossible because it would mean a double ithumi and that was contrary to both Kikuyu and Dorobo custom, though marriage by exchange of girls between two groups is not a concept [B. 145] quite unknown in primitive society (1), and some of the Fort Hall elders say that many

DK [[71]]

1. Cf. Akiga's story: the Tiv tribe as seen by one of its members transcribed and annotated by Rupert East, 1939. Of the practice of exchange marriage Dr. East remarks, "It is, or has been, an institution of paramount importance, and lies at the base of the whole present tribal organization." According to the Tiv theory of exchange, daughters bear children to their father's family by proxy. Dr. East says, "The most probable explanation ... is that it represents an unconscious attempt to reconcile the patrilineal and matrilineal principles." Cf. also C.K. Meek in "Marriage by exchange in Nigeria," Africa, January 1936: "... it may be said generally that one of the main reasons for the abandonment of marriage by exchange is that women now claim the right to marry anyone they please."

years ago, land being plentiful and goats scarce, a girl was rarely handed over as the "purchase-price" of land among Kikuyu; others declare that this could not be done at all. But I doubt if we can rule this method, which would sometimes mean alliance with a family rich in goats, completely out, although it would entail an infringement of the strict Dorobo law. We have seen that such a union would become a matrilocal marriage. It would serve to keep the husband close at hand and make him something of a drone, dependent, leading a lazy life and liable to degeneration. As a long-range method of absorption it would be of some effect.

DK 425

Another method of acquiring land was that of compensation for a homicide—"blood-money." Theoretically the land would be

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IV.

600 Marital relations. -- Polygyny. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Conversion of the young man to the state of the married. -- Bride price. -- Forcing the consent of the father of the bride. -- Exchange of wives. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Entering into marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

595 The marital relations also offer little that is new. Polygyny exists only to a limited extent; most of the people are too poor to acquire and support more than one wife; only a few have two wives, and if a man has three of them it is a rarity. Betrothal in earliest childhood seems to be more frequent here than among the Idomi, but no more binding and without legal consequences. As a rule after circumcision the youth is betrothed to a girl eight to ten years old, after his father has proposed for him to her parents. As among the Idomi, the /[illegible]/ betrothed persons live apart and may not even see [illegible] in the other, the bride with another youth. If the bride becomes pregnant before the wedding, dissolution of the betrothal does not always take place, as among the Idomi, but rather the one who made her pregnant must redeem the bridegroom by the payment of a head of cattle.

Here, just as among the Idomi, the young men of an age class together decide upon their entering the evening of the married, and their fellow companions confirm the intention by a feast corresponding to the at gorok I at 18, to which friends and neighbors participate. They are served goats and heavy beer, the latter of which, however, the marriage candidate may not yet drink. They like to eat the beer for the day after a successful elephant hunt, so that the guests can beat heartily on meat.

593 Before marriage can be entered into, the bride price is to be paid. The bridegroom usually gives the father of the bride, even before her circumcision, five pots of honey and five hoeknives, and, soon after her circumcision, half of a male female elephant with the rest that belongs to its fathersmen, two head of cattle, which

/340 cont./

583 are bought from the Masai for ivory, and finally half of the meat of
[439] a slain female head of game approximately the size of a zebra. The mother of the bride and each of her brothers receive from the bridegroom a beehive apiece. Instead of the beehives the parents-in-law in some regions, especially where the Wandorobo live in close contact
[40] with the Masai, receive iron wire. After receiving the gifts, the bridegroom and father-in-law reciprocally call each other ba-gatad, bridegroom and mother-in-law ba-gw, bridegroom and the brothers of the bride ba-suben, according to ancient Masai custom.

583 For beauties no higher price is paid. For a childless widow
587 the usual price is paid, but only after the birth of the first child and after her father has returned to the heirs of her deceased husband the price received for her before her first marriage. For a widow who gave birth to girls only, no bride price is paid; instead, however, the heir of her deceased husband keeps her daughters. Likewise
583 nothing is paid for a woman driven out by her husband. If the bridegroom dies before the marriage, his brother takes the bride.
[590] If the bride dies before the marriage or if the betrothed prevents dissolve the betrothal, the portion of the bride price already paid is returned. A bridegroom who is too poor to be able to pay the full price serves the father-in-law for a few months as herder for the remainder owed.

584 If the father of the girl has stubbornly opposed the courtship, he is finally forced to consent by means of a divine judgment. The lover stealthily creeps into the hut of the old man and ties a
[584] rope of grass around the wooden honey pot. The father is said /341/
[584] to give his consent regularly then, since otherwise the punishment
[584] of God would kill him. In place of this custom, it also happens
[591] that the lover secretly takes the girl away, or the latter -- as among the Masai -- flees to him without her parents' knowledge.

587 Wife exchange occurs, but legal marriage does not arise from it. The woman does not remain with the other man for longer than a half to a whole year. If she feels pregnant before this time, she returns to her husband.

• 582 Among the Asá the same marriage obtains held as among the
171 Masai, but the great distances between the individual tiny camps

/241 cont./

582 often necessitate a more lenient interpretation, so that there has
[71] often come about a practice according to which the bridal couple may not be related more closely than the third degree.

585 After the completed paying of the bride price, the bride is handed over to the bridegroom, and the latter either takes her along immediately or leaves her for two or three weeks to learn housekeeping with his mother, so that the latter will instruct her in housekeeping.

[71] There is nothing new to be said about the wedding customs. A jus p. n. /jus primae noctis/ also exists here, and, to be sure, in the same form as among the Masai.

586 Divorce, as among the Masai, comes about if the husband
[71] drives out the wife or if the latter runs away from him. What was said about the possible return of the bride price there also applies. With the divorce all the children remain with the father. The woman keeps the infant only until the end of the nursing period, which she usually spends with her parents, whereupon the father also takes this child to live with him. If a pregnant woman runs away from her husband, he may demand the child, without compensation, after the weaning. Husband and wife may remarry immediately after a divorce, though a woman who is nursing a child is supposed to wait until its weaning. Divorced couples may reinstate the marriage by mutual consent, without any formalities. What was said of the M[illegible]
[587] [71] about the dissolution of a marriage through the death of one par[illegible] and about the remarriage of the other marriage partner applies.